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to himself: 'He gave to me, so I'll give to him.' But no one was in duty bound to give the equivalent in return."

Within the network of kinship obligations, exchange was more often indirect than reciprocal. A man could expect help from his father and from his mother's brother without being under obligation to return goods in like amount—he was supposed to repay them by conducting himself in such a way that they could be proud of him. This meant that the man in his turn would be especially generous toward his sister and her children, that he would adequately fulfill his duties toward his wife's people and provide goods in sufficient amount that his wife could fulfill her own obligations especially those toward her own brother's wife and children.

When others saw fit to honor an individual, say for bravery in warfare, that person was supposed to give away goods in large amounts to show that he appreciated the honor; and his relatives would join with him in giving, thereby increasing his, as well as their own, prestige. Likewise in paying for services, such as those of a medicine man, relatives would "chip in" to the best of their ability, the one assuming the largest part of the burden receiving the greatest boost in public esteem. A person who impoverished himself by giving generously at such times would be sure that, with his reputation thus established, he would soon be the recipient of gifts dispensed by others in like liberality. Meantime, however, he could not afford to sit back awaiting the presents from others. He would soon lose his coveted reputation and be referred to as lazy, an epithet strong enough to bring tears to the eyes of a man who entertained any ambitions whatsoever.

If a person were in need, it was possible for him to request what was necessary, preferably from some relative who was well-to-do, and usually his request would be met. But a continual borrower lost status and a limit was thus put upon indiscriminate "begging." One woman stated: "If your sister asked you for something you would not refuse her, but it was to your brother's wife you would give things voluntarily. A woman had great pride in keeping her brother's wife well-dressed, and if you had an extra supply of dried berries she is the one you would think of first."

Thus we have the basis for the generalizations the Gros Ventres

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572 Woman had sung around the circle once, he led his party to Bull Lodge's tipi. The latter was suspicious and thought: 'I'm in for it now!' Sits Like A Woman went up to Bull Lodge, took him by the arm and said: 'Come, my friend.' He led him to the middle of the group of returned warriors. He then faced Bull Lodge and said in a jesting way: 'Stand still or I'll kill you.' Bull Lodge stood there and Sits Like A Woman took his rifle and, drumming with the stock on Bull Lodge's back, sang the following song: 'He who poisons (i.e., a medicine man with power to kill) has no penis.' Bull Lodge and his brothers-in-law realized that Sits Like [602 834] A Woman was in earnest because not only was the song a great insult, but the victim's brothers-in-law were present,—which they should not have been when any reference to private parts was made.[33] The war party took up the song with enthusiasm as Sits Like A Woman told Bull Lodge again: 'Don't move yet—I'll kill you anyway.' He took Bull Lodge's new Hudson Bay blanket and slit it in two; he slashed Bull Lodge's shirt and took it off him; he slashed his leggings and removed them; and finally he cut the belt so that the breech-cloth fell to the ground. Bull Lodge was standing there naked. By that time the brothers-in-law had stolen away, one by one. Bull Lodge knew better than to run away, and Sits Like A Woman said: 'Perhaps you have power to poison people. If you have a mind to poison me, go ahead and try. I'm not afraid of you. If you choose to pay me back that way, you might just as well try it on the sun. Or, if you choose to pay me back in the way I have treated you, go ahead. But first lead a successful war party. If you then do to me what I have done to you, I won't be mad. But I'll lead still another war party and do far worse to you that second time than I have done this time.'

"After thinking it over, Bull Lodge decided to buy off his enemy-friend and the next morning he got together an armful of valuable things, filled a pipe and went to Sits Like A Woman. 'My friend,' he said, 'here's a pipe I am offering to you. You take this pipe so you will stop doing things like this to me. While I don't mind it, my brothers-in-law were there. And here are some things you can have.' Sits Like A Woman laughed, but ac-

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[33] Relationship between brothers-in-law precluded any reference to sex and bodily exposure in each other's presence. See pp. 118–19.

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that the wife of a maternal uncle may likewise claim his nephew as "son-in-law."[3]

Brothers-in-law and Sisters-in-law

The mutual regard between brother and sister is said to have been reflected not only through the carrying out of the obligations of the avunculate and amitate in the spirit of "showing how much brothers and sisters thought of each other." It could also be seen in the type of behavior expected between brothers-in-law on the one hand, and sisters-in-law on the other. Brothers-in-law were generous to each other and could joke lightly with each other, but nothing even remotely connected with sex could be so much as mentioned in each other's presence. A man was circumspect in regard to his sister's husband out of respect for his sister, and to his wife's brother because the latter, out of respect for his own sister, had similar obligations toward him. Sisters-in-law behaved toward each other in like fashion. These attitudes were extended to include wife's brother's wife as "sister," rather than "sister-in-law," and husband's sister's husband as "brother."

Unmarried brothers of a man and wife likewise regarded themselves as brothers-in-law. A case which well illustrates the attitudes between them is the following as told by The Boy. "My older brother was married to Thick's older sister and we two young unmarried brothers-in-law experienced a most embarrassing situation. One of us was visiting a woman at night and the other came to the same woman, not realizing in the dark that his brother-in-law was already there. We recognized each other's voices, however, and the one who arrived last beat a hasty retreat. The matter has never, even to this day, been discussed nor so much as indirectly alluded to between us, and the embarrassment over this event led us to avoid each other for a considerable time thereafter. Eventually our relationship was deepened inasmuch as Thick married my sister. Even though my sister should die, Thick and I would continue to be brothers-in-law on the same plane."

[3] Kroeber, 1902, p. 10, calls attention to the identity of terms for "niece" and "daughter-in-law." Apparently a woman used the term "son-in-law" for her niece's husband or for her husband's nephew only if presents were given.

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Traditionally, all reference to sex was forbidden between brothers-in-law in private as well as in public. They would be embarrassed at bodily exposure in each other's presence and consequently did not go swimming together, nor relieve their bodily necessities in sight of each other, nor indeed break wind. They were, however, allowed and even expected to joke with one another, or, better, to mildly tease each other in public. This sort of "joking" was of a very different kind from that expected between brother- and sister-in-law or between enemy-friends. As an example, it was stated that a man might say to a prospective employer, when his brother-in-law was present: "I'm the best logger around here. My brother-in-law can't cut logs as well as I can. Why hire him?" The other was supposed to take such ribbing without losing his temper, but try to get even at some later date.

Among the younger generation of today, brothers-in-law still "josh" at each other's expense and in good nature, but they tend to disregard the respectful attitudes and to discuss tabooed subjects. Deploring this state of affairs, Coming Daylight commented: "These young men around here now are 'tough' just like the Assiniboine men always were. The Assiniboine never were ashamed in front of their sisters' husbands, whereas the Gros Ventres were different and knew better than to behave in such a way."

Even at the present time, nevertheless, just as in the past, brothers-in-law are supposed to be generous with each other. They would advise each other in regard to a good business proposition, give each other the benefit in anything along that line, help each other in such ways as in building a house, in giving presents away in public, and so on.

Reticence on matters connected with sex was practiced between sisters-in-law, a woman being careful what she said both to her brother's wife and to her husband's sister. It was stated, for example, that "a woman can tease her sister-in-law, but not in a bad way because she would be her brother's wife." The stock joke between sisters-in-law hinges upon stinginess. A woman could say to her brother's wife: "Oh, you stingy thing. You hid your knife," which would indicate that she is fond of her food and doesn't wish to share it. But sisters-in-law do not josh each other to the same extent as do brothers-in-law.

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607 A woman was, however, expected to be especially generous to her brother's wife. Coming Daylight gave, as example, her own experience at the time of her first marriage. "One day, shortly after I had arrived at my husband's home, his sister, Watches All, brought me a couple of skins saying: 'Now you take the flesh off these hides. You are known to do a good job, and since my eyesight is poor I might cut the skin.' So I did what was asked, never dreaming that one of these skins was to be a robe for me. Some time later Watches All invited me and another young woman who was married to my husband's cousin, to a lodge. When I arrived I found the lodge full of old women. I was told to go around to the place of honor in the rear, where two robes were placed. When the other young woman arrived, they told her to take her place beside me. We were both to sit beside the robes and not to rise until they were all through. Watches All had invited, among the others, the woman who had 'initiated' her and who acted as a sort of teacher. Watches All said to this woman: 'You are going to initiate my sister-in-law with this robe.' So they made a smudge and Watches All held one side of the robe and the woman held the other, as they stood behind me. Then they held the robe toward the fire three times, making the motion as though to put it about my shoulders, and on the fourth time they actually put it around me, tying it at the breast and telling me not to hold it on with my hands. Each of the four times the motion was made, the woman blew on the robe spraying it with a powdered root which she had in her mouth. Then they went through the same procedure for the other bride. Finally, we were told to walk out without picking up our old robes, which we had left by the door when we entered, and which were to be given to two of the oldest women present. The new robes were beautiful. They were embroidered with porcupine quills, fringed with deer-hoofs, and sprinkled with mica, which glittered in the firelight as we moved. It was certainly fine to have such a beautiful new robe; and right away, my husband gave his sister a horse because she had been so good to me. Later on, I made her some moccasins."

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In addition to the special honor a woman might show her brother's wife by a ceremony such as described above, she would in general take pride in keeping her well-dressed. For instance Mary

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explained: "Mrs. Curly Head was the best-dressed woman I knew. Her husband's sister kept her well-dressed. A woman has a lot of pride in the appearance of her brother's wife, and the old women tell us that it was the same in the old days." Cora corroborated this by stating: "My sister and I would load my brother's wife with presents. And if he had more than one wife, it would be the same,—a woman is good to her brother's wife no matter how many times he might be married." Coming Daylight mentioned that she made it a point to bring her cousin's wife—she had no blood brother—especially nice gifts whenever she made a trip and added that in former times, just as today, when a woman distributed berries she had picked, the first one she would think of would be either her brother's wife or her son's wife.

About all that a woman did for her husband's sister was to make her occasional gifts of moccasins. The giving of moccasins, however, had a significance far beyond what their extrinsic value suggests. Mary illustrated this by the following incident: "Flat Head is my cousin. He has three half-brothers, all of them having the same father but different mothers. I treat these three in the same way I treat Flat Head, namely, as a brother. One of these men died last spring, and his wife, who is of course my sister-in-law, came and brought me a pair of moccasins. So when she was leaving I gave her a woolen shawl which I had just bought, and a dress which I had made and intended to display in the bazaar. My husband's niece, who is young and doesn't understand the old ways, said reproachfully to me: 'Why, Aunt Mary, you gave up that nice shawl you wanted so badly.' So I told her: 'Surely—I couldn't let my sister-in-law go out of here without giving her something! You should know that when anyone gives you a pair of moccasins it is a big thing. It is as much as anything I can think of—as much as a bottle of whiskey or of brandy!'"

Grandparents

The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren was a free-and-easy one, unmarked by the reticence which characterized the parent-child relationship, or by the feeling of restraint which obtains between so many relatives of opposite sex. "A grandfather can say anything he likes to his granddaughter, and vice

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593 so." Brothers could borrow from each other without asking beforehand. Futhermore, an older man, who was married, might allow a younger unmarried brother to join the Crazy Lodge, lending his wife to stand in the place of a wife to him for ceremonial purposes.

Brothers- and Sisters-in-law

607 522 The greatest freedom was exhibited between a man and his brother's wife, on the one hand, and his wife's sister on the other. Likewise a woman could say anything she chose to her husband's brother and to her sister's husband. Teasing and horseplay between brother-in-law and sister-in-law were not only permitted but expected. A favorite joke was for one to conceal in a strategic place within the lodge an "air cushion" consisting of a buffalo cow bladder, blown up and tied. When the other came in he was shown to the appointed place and his weight on the cushion caused a most embarrassing noise, much to the hilarity of all present. Taking it in apparent good nature, the victim would, however, bide his time to get even.

Another accepted type of trick was for one to make a laughing stock of the other by heavily blackening the eyebrows of the victim, while he or she was asleep. A rougher kind of play was also indulged in. Singer, for instance, said: "I was once thrown in the creek by my brother-in-law. It took me a long time to find opportunity for retaliation, because he was wary and stayed away from the creek when I was around. On one occasion though, when he started for his bath, I followed him, and, when he was on the brink of the creek, I sneaked up behind him and shoved him in yelling as I ran away: 'It took me a long time to get even with you!'" On another occasion she and her brother-in-law were partners in a game he made up. "The Gros Ventres had won in battle and this man said he was going to give a 'Victory Dance.' My sister and I joined the group, and, as we arrived, this brother-in-law of ours was singing all kinds of songs,—silly songs with the words all mixed up. Then he said: 'Each man take a partner. We are going to stand up all night. The first one who sits has to pay a fine!' So he chose me as his partner. Finally, after some time, he said: 'Wait a minute, I have to get a drink.'

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So he rushed into his father's lodge, but another of his sisters-in-law went in and saw him sitting down, and said to me: 'You two have lost, and we have won, because your partner sat down first.' Since I didn't have anything to put up as fine, my husband's brother pulled my eyebrows out, as was customary when a person couldn't pay a debt of this kind. My partner, however, gave a feast prepared by his mother as payment, but failed to include me. I got even with him by coming up behind him one day shortly thereafter and emptying a pail of water over his head."

Whether he liked it or not, a man had to take without complaint whatever kind of speech or action his own brother directed towards his wife, and likewise a woman had to put up with whatever her sister said or did to her husband. Men who were married to sisters considered each other as "brothers" rather than as brothers-in-law, just as women married to brothers were "sisters" and not sisters-in-law.

Inseparable-friends

As broadly as kinship bonds were conceived among the Gros Ventres in both consanguineal and affinal relationships, kinship behavior and obligations were extended even more widely through the institution of "inseparable-friends." Coming Daylight explained this as follows: "If two men are *inithlha* this means that they have grown up together and are the same as brothers although they are not really kin to each other. The children of these two men would be the same as brothers and sisters to each other and could not marry. All relatives of 'inseparable-friends' were considered as own relatives. Crow's Bull's 'inseparable-friend' was Truth. He knew all the songs that belonged to the Flat Pipe because Crow Bull was Keeper and the two were so much together. Truth always called Crow Bull's son 'son,' and he called me 'niece' because Crow Bull was my mother's brother. A woman could tease the 'inseparable-friend' of her husband in just the same way she could tease her brother-in-law."

Cora illustrated how complicated relationships could become through the inseparable-friendship. "My brother and Arthur Skinner were such friends, which made Arthur my 'brother.' When Arthur married I should normally have taken his wife as 'sister-

6: Cooper E-5 (1931-1940) 1944
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787 Here is the second story told me by Thick.

539 "There was a man by the name of Bird Child who had a ghost
791 helper. Bird Child's wife had four brothers, one of them my father. One evening they filled a pipe and went to Bird Child's lodge to get him to find out from his ghost helper where there would be lots of buffalo and no danger, so they could go there and hunt. When they arrived at Bird Child's lodge they found him absent and only his wife in the lodge. Without invitation they made themselves at home and asked their sister where Bird Child was. She answered: 'I don't know where he is nor when he will be back.'

737 "Being Bird Child's brothers-in-law they decided to take the
776 liberty of using Bird Child's power and ghost helper, and of hav-
539 ing a seance in his absence. They asked their sister where Bird
607 Child's bundle was. She showed them. One of the four brothers took it down. They then agreed who was to be tied up and to represent Bird Child. The one of the four designated agreed. They had him lie down and two of them tied him up tight and laid him in an enclosure made along the side of the tent [as in preceding story]. They were half-fooling, not quite serious. Their sister couldn't say anything: they imposed on her. They even attached the man's hair to the ropes with which they bound him in the robe until only his mouth was visible.

"Then they started to sing and sang the same song four times without stopping. At the end they heard yelling in the air and said: 'There he is. He has come for us.' As the ghost helper arrived the tent shook and the helper said: 'Who's that lying back there?' and answered himself: 'Some crazy man or someone with no regard for anybody's rights.' Then they heard a commotion behind the enclosure. The bound brother started to hollow for mercy. Next one of the brothers who had done the tying got hit with all the ropes tangled in a knot.

"Then they heard the bound man being thrown towards the door, and saying: 'Hurry up and make a light before this ghost helper kills me.' The spirit had picked him up and was trying

8:Flannery E-5 (1940-1948)1960 NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

the shots and went later to see what happened, and there I saw her lying across the fire; her dress had burned off and her body was all shriveled. They weren't satisfied to kill her, but they burned her too!" She maintained her attitude and all the scolding from her relatives was of no avail.

Before turning to her adult life, we may refer to another instance which illustrates Coming Daylight's sensitivity to the suffering of others. In the Sacrifice Lodge, which is the Gros Ventre version of the well-known Plains Sun Dance, one of the important features was the spectacular self-torture which the active participants underwent. Each one had a sliver of wood embedded in the flesh of his chest. To the wood was tied a line, the other end of which was fastened high on the center-pole of the lodge. The man, leaning back so that the line was taut, went back and forth until finally the sliver was torn from his flesh. Meanwhile the women cheered on their relatives by "rattling their tongues," singing war songs, and the like, by way of encouraging the men to be brave and see the thing through. Coming Daylight was quite a young child when she first witnessed this performance. She remembered vividly her reaction when one of the young men, in his exhaustion, went to the center-pole and, putting his arms around it, wept aloud. She was not able to stand it any longer and rushed home crying. Her grandmother was very angry with her for leaving in the middle of the performance, but all the little girl could say was: "Oh, I just pitied that young man," and she could not be induced to return to the dance lodge. We may add here that actually in later years she did not participate in the Sacrifice Lodge even so far as women were allowed to do so.

The examples we have given are sufficient to show, I believe, that Coming Daylight had developed as a child a very strong set against violence, against painful and dangerous experiences. She refused medicine power from supernatural sources not only because it was dangerous but also because it involved a kind of physical activity which was repugnant to her. She refused to mutilate herself and was extremely sensitive to painful experiences in others. Her actual deviations from the patterns of accepted or approved behavior all tended in this same direction against violence. Her adult behavior likewise was consistent with this trend in her personality.

In consonance with her feeling against physical violence Coming Daylight avoided as far as possible the rough-and-tumble play in which brother-in-law and sister-in-law were free to, and indeed expected to, indulge. Other women told with glee how they enjoyed "getting even" with their brothers-in-law by, for instance, pushing them when fully clothed into the river, or dumping bucketfuls of water over their heads when they least expected it, and so on; but Coming Daylight admitted without hesitation that she didn't like that sort of thing and never attempted to retaliate even when her brothers-in-law succeeded in playing jokes on her. Similarly while it was not unusual for women rivals to actively fight over a man, she refrained from such undignified behavior, although it must be admitted that she had enough provocation on at least one occasion of which she told me. She had just married a man who was described by others as something of a gay Lothario. A woman who had been trying to force her attentions on him was furious when she heard of the marriage. She rushed to the lodge and pulled Coming Daylight out feet first, yelling insults the while. When the latter regained her feet she made no attempt to hit back even though the other slapped her and pulled off an earring, tearing the lobe of the ear. Coming Daylight, however, bided her time and soon was able to make an opportunity for an exchange of words with the woman at a big social dance.